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## DIET IN ANCIENT MEDICAL PRACTICE AS SHOWN BY CELSUS IN HIS *DE MEDICINA*<sup>1</sup>

Athenaeus<sup>2</sup> states that Homer attributed to the gods a simple diet of ambrosia and nectar. If there were, for man, food and drink as simple and as apparently wholesome, he would have been freed from a difficulty whose existence is attested from his earliest records, namely, the question, What shall I eat?

Hippocrates believed that man in his early state suffered much from eating indigestible substances, things which possessed powerful qualities that caused violent pains, diseases, and sudden death. Only after a long period of time man learned how to eat. Medical art, says Hippocrates, would not have been discovered or studied had sick persons received benefit from the food and drink which the healthy ate<sup>3</sup>.

From a simple fare of primitive people, hinted at by various writers, down to the days of calories and vitamins there have been some innovations in methods of preparing food and some additions in the way of special foods; however, the staple foods are nearly all represented in the pages of the ancient authors who discuss types of food, methods of preparation of food, quantities of food to be taken, times for their consumption, and persons who should eat them. The surprising fact is that, though our modern dietitians have the experience of some 2500 years at their command, their teachings vary so little from the standards established by Hippocrates and his followers.

Our information concerning diet comes from two main sources. From the time of Hippocrates some writers, whom we may call scientific writers, have dealt specifically with questions of diet from a medical point of view<sup>4</sup>. The second group comprises all other writers; in their works many interesting and valuable hints, remarks, and discourses are found that reveal

to us something of the story of man's efforts to know food-values and to use foods to his well-being. Again, we learn of the reckless abuse of the body from over-indulgence and of the sufferings it has engendered.

The student who reads the Roman satirists will find it difficult to close his study of them without a feeling that the Romans had no thought of temperance and moderation. In their pages gluttony and all prandial excesses appear as frequently as do other vices. Horace<sup>5</sup> asks us to learn that great benefits can come from a temperate diet, the first of which is good health. Many epigrams of Martial contain attacks on inordinate eating and drinking.

In any given age comparatively few persons, I believe, take food and drink, either in selection or in amount, with special reference to their health; hence it is not surprising that one gets the impression that the Romans were unwise in their eating.

Since philosophy and medicine were closely related in early times, many important facts can be gleaned from the explanations which Aristotle and Plato give as to why food is necessary. Seneca, in his *Epistulae Morales*, which are seasoned with numerous Stoic exhortations on moderation, emphasizes the fact that excessive indulgence enervates the mind and lessens its activity.

Among the intimate details given by Suetonius concerning the Emperors, their regimen is frequently mentioned. Augustus, it seems, ate sparingly; his diet, too, was plain, for he was particularly fond of coarse bread, small fish, fresh cheese made from cow's milk, and green figs<sup>6</sup>. The soldiers made puns on the names of the Emperors who were intemperate drinkers; they called Tiberius *Biberius*, Claudius *Caldius*, and Nero *Mero*<sup>7</sup>. Caligula, in his effort to invent bizarre effects, drank pearls of great value dissolved in vinegar<sup>8</sup>. Claudius was always ready to eat and drink. While he was hearing cases in the Forum of Augustus, he smelt the dinner that was being prepared for the *Salii* next door; at once he left the court in session and went to eat with the priests<sup>9</sup>. Vitellius repaid his brother, who once served up no less than 2000 choice fish and 7000 birds, by preparing his 'Shield of Minerva', which contained livers of fish, brains of pheasants and peacocks, tongues of flamingos<sup>10</sup>, and entrails of lampreys<sup>11</sup>.

In the mélange of subject matter found in Macrobius, Athenaeus, and Pliny the Elder, there are innumerable references to descriptions of food, its production, its qualities, and its nature.

<sup>1</sup>Sermones 2.2.70-71 Accipe nunc victus tenuis quae quantaque secum adferat. In primis valeas bene. . . Compare Pliny, N. H. 28.56 quippe multo utilissima est temperantia in cibis; Hippocrates, Aphorisms 1.4-18.

<sup>2</sup>Suetonius, Augustus 76.

<sup>3</sup>Suetonius, Tiberius 42.

<sup>4</sup>Suetonius, Caligula 37.

<sup>5</sup>Suetonius, Claudius 33.

<sup>6</sup>Pliny, N. H. 10.133.

<sup>7</sup>Suetonius, Vitellius 13.

<sup>1</sup>All references to the *De Medicina* of Celsus are to the text of Celsus as given in the work entitled *Corpus Medicorum Latinorum Editum Consilio et Auctoritate Institutii Puschmanniani Lipsiensis*: Vol. I A. Cornelii Celsi Quae Supersunt Recensuit Fridericus Marx (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915. Pp. CXIV + 484). The text of the eight books of the *De Medicina* (with *Apparatus Criticus*) covers pages 17-410 of this volume.

In this paper references such as Introduction 72, and 1.1.2-3 (see e. g. notes 16 and 18, below) are references to the *De Medicina* of Celsus.—The statements in the text of this paper rest primarily on the dicta of Celsus. Those dicta are illustrated, often, in the notes by references to other authors, especially Pliny the Elder.

<sup>2</sup>1.9 e-f.—The references to Athenaeus are to book, chapter, and subdivisions of the chapter (as in The Loeb Classical Library).

<sup>3</sup>Hippocrates, *De Medicina Antiqua* 3-5.

<sup>4</sup>The following writers gave some attention to dietetics (all except the first belong to Christian times): Hippocratic Collection, *De Dieta*, *De Affectionibus*, etc.; Plutarch (first century), *De Sanitate Tuenda Praecepta*; Xenocrates (first century), *De Alimento ex Aquatilibus*; Galen (second century), *De Alimentorum Facultatibus*, *De Probis et Pravis Alimentorum Suciis*, etc.; Dioscorides (second century), *Materia Medica*; Athenaeus (third century), *Deipnosophistae*; Aëtius (*circa* fourth century), author of sixteen books on medicine (see Book 2 of this work); Oribasius (fourth century), *Collecta Medicinalia*; Macrobius (fifth century), *Saturnalia* (see Book 7); Paellus (eleventh century), *Carmen De Re Medica*; Actuarius (*circa* eleventh century), *De Spiritu Animalis* (see Part II); Simeon Seth (eleventh century), *De Alimentis*; Avicenna (eleventh century), *Canticum De Medicina* (see Part II).

When one wishes to read of dietetics in Latin medical literature, he must turn to Cornelius Celsus's *De Medicina*, a work of the early part of the first century A. D. Celsus's eight books on medicine, which have survived completely, comprise Books 6-13 of an encyclopedic work in which he treated farming, military art, oratory, jurisprudence, and medicine. Aside from the books *De Medicina* only a few fragments of the works of Celsus have come down to us.

Although the writings of Hippocrates and Galen are generally more complete and detailed than the work of Celsus, we can by a study of Celsus judge the importance of diet as expressed in Latin. The Introduction to this work<sup>11a</sup> is one of the best summaries of the history of ancient medicine that we possess. Celsus states that the Greeks divided the practice of medicine into three parts: correction of physical disorders by diet, correction of physical disorders by medicine, correction of physical disorders by surgery. This statement shows clearly that the ancients recognized the important function that food plays in the maintenance of health as well as in the treatment of disease<sup>12</sup>. Concerning diet, says Celsus, some physicians followed theory, while others performed experiments in the field of dietetics. In connection with almost every ailment he describes Celsus gives to physicians positive injunction or advice—usually expressed by the gerundive—to prescribe a specific dietetic plan.

Despite the fact that the various schools of medicine were not agreed as to whether digestion took place in the stomach by attrition, by putrefaction, by heat, or by the distribution of food in a crude state throughout the body, they agreed that a different diet must be followed by the sick than was to be followed by those who were in ordinary health.

In early times knowledge grew from experimentation. In this way it was learned that of those who had no physician some were most relieved if they abstained from food in the early days of illness, others if they did not eat until the remission of a fever<sup>13</sup>. Many points, says Celsus, remain obscure, and many volumes have been written by physicians concerning unsolved problems; hence it is better to take a moderate position. For example, in regard to disease and health the philosophers do not reach any absolute certainty concerning the manner in which food is digested or distributed; they only conjecture: *Cuius autem rei non est certa notitia, eius opinio certum reperire remedium non potest*<sup>14</sup>. It makes a considerable difference whether the disease was caused by fatigue, thirst, cold, or hunger, or whether it came from too much food and wine. The physician must know the kind of life the patient has been leading—laborious, sedentary, luxurious, or frugal; from these facts he draws a new method of treatment<sup>15</sup>. Many points are to be noted in connection with the giving of food, for a young man bears hunger more easily than a boy; hunger is more easily endured in cloudy air than in clear air, more easily

in winter than in summer, more easily by one accustomed to one meal a day than by a person accustomed to two meals a day; a sedentary person bears hunger more easily than one who takes exercise bears it. In general, the less readily one bears hunger, the more necessary it is for him to take food<sup>16</sup>.

In Book 1, Celsus begins with a few directions telling those who are in good health how to maintain that state. It is not necessary to avoid foods which are in common use<sup>17</sup>; a man should at times eat in company with others, at times withdraw from company, at times eat more, at times eat no more than is necessary. Food ought to be taken twice a day rather than once a day; one should always eat as much as he can, provided the food digests. These rules do not apply to athletes, since their bodies, if usual exercises are suspended by civic or other duties, are weakened, and their bodies, which are, after their habit, well fed, very quickly grow old and become diseased<sup>18</sup>.

Greater precaution is necessary for the weak; among such persons are many dwellers in cities and nearly all who spend much time at study. When the days are long, these persons ought to take a stroll at mid-day before they take food; if this is not possible, they should stroll after they take food. In winter one should rest throughout the entire night; however, if one must study, the studying is not to be done after a meal, but after digestion has taken place. He who has domestic or civic duties during the day should give some time to the care of his body. The first care here should be exercise, which ought to precede the taking of food. Stronger food should be taken by one who labors little and (or?) digests his food well, a more gentle food by one who has become fatigued and (or?) has slower digestive powers<sup>19</sup>.

When one takes food, it is never proper to overload; on the other hand, too great abstinence from food is harmful<sup>20</sup>. If there is to be any intemperance, it is safer in drinking than in eating<sup>21</sup>. It is better to begin with salt fish, vegetables, and the like; then meat is to be taken (this is best roasted or boiled). All preserves are injurious, because, on account of the sweetness, persons take too much of them, and because, though the quantity taken be moderate, preserves are hard to digest. A dessert does not harm a good stomach, but causes an acid stomach with the weak. Therefore, if one is not strong, he will fare better if he uses dates, apples, and similar fruits. After somewhat more than quenches thirst has been drunk, nothing more should be eaten; after a full meal nothing should be done. When one has satisfied his hunger, if, in addition to what he has eaten, he finishes with a drink of cold water, his

<sup>11a</sup>Introduction 72.

<sup>12</sup>Pliny, N. H. 28.56 <Men followed various practices in eating and in drinking> sicut totius corporis valetudini in varietate victus inobservata. According to Hippocrates, Aphorisms 1.5, a restricted diet is likely to be more dangerous than one slightly more liberal. The diet must be regulated according to the severity of the disease (*ibidem*, 1.8).

<sup>13</sup>1.1.2-3. <sup>14</sup>1.2.1-5.

<sup>15</sup>According to Hippocrates, Aphorisms 1.4, a restricted diet is dangerous both in chronic and in acute diseases. Over-indulgence is dangerous. According to Hippocrates, Aphorisms 2.4, repletion and fasting are of no wholesome effect when they are practiced beyond the demands of nature.

<sup>16</sup>According to Hippocrates, Aphorisms 2.11 it is easier to nourish a person with drink than with food.

<sup>11a</sup>See pages 17-20 in Marx's work (described in note 1, above).  
<sup>12</sup>Pliny, N. H. 28.53 *Abstinere ac cibo omni aut potu, alias vino tantum aut carne, alias balneo, cum quid eorum postulet valetudo, in praesentissimis remediis habetur.*

<sup>13</sup>Introduction 33-34.

<sup>14</sup>Introduction 45-46.

<sup>15</sup>Introduction 53.



digestion will be easier, and, after he has remained awake for a time, he will sleep soundly. If one eats heartily during the day, he ought not to expose himself to cold or to heat, or to work, since these conditions do not harm an empty stomach so easily as they harm a full body. If for any reason hunger is to be undergone, all work must be avoided<sup>22</sup>.

Celsus now turns to the discussion of different constitutions, ages<sup>23</sup>, and seasons of the year. It is not beneficial to eat much after long fasting, or to go hungry after much eating. To eat immoderately, contrary to one's regular practice, is dangerous. When one plans to make a change in his way of living, he should make the change gradually. If, however, one who is unaccustomed to labor has worked hard, or, even if he is accustomed to work, has worked much more than usual, he ought to sleep without eating. In general, it may be stated that after fatigue one should take food of moist nature and be content with water, or, certainly, with diluted drinks, especially with what is diuretic. It is important to know that a cold drink is very dangerous to one who is perspiring from labor and to one who is fatigued from travel, even when perspiration has abated. Asclepiades, our author says (1.3.7), is of the opinion that a drink is injurious to those who come directly from the bath. If one is troubled by continual weariness, he should drink wine and water by turns. A man who is fatigued by walking should take a moderate amount of food, and should drink unmixed wine<sup>24</sup>.

If one who is sailing becomes sea-sick and vomits bile, he ought to abstain from food or to take very little food. If he has brought up acid phlegm, he may take food, but lighter food than usual. If there should be nausea without vomiting, he should either abstain from food or should vomit after meals. For one who has passed an entire day in a carriage or in the theater it has been found profitable to remain in the bath a long time, and then to partake of a light supper<sup>25</sup>.

A bit of advice from Celsus is that each one should know the nature or the condition of his own body (1.3.13): *Raro quisquam non aliquam partem corporis inbecillam habet*. Some are too slender, others too fat, others too hot, too cold, too moist, too dry. A regimen ought to be adopted to correct the faults in each case<sup>26</sup>. It is interesting to note how far Celsus suggests dietetic measures to correct these general conditions. One person will put on flesh by eating and drinking sweet and fat things, by taking food rather frequently and as much as will be digested. In these days when restricted diets are sought to make a slender figure we may note that Celsus states that 'reduction' can be accomplished by purging, by vomiting, by an acid and tart diet, and by a single meal a day. One should make a practice of drinking wine (not too cold) on an empty stomach<sup>27</sup>.

The ancients were divided on the value of vomits. Celsus, as usual, presents the arguments of the different

schools and draws the conclusion that, while it is dangerous to make vomiting a habit, it is at times useful or even necessary. A vomit may be dangerous to slender persons and to those who have a weak stomach; it is helpful to all bilious persons, whether they have eaten too much or have a poor digestion. *Itaque istud*, he adds, *luxuriae causa fieri non oportere confiteor*. If one vomits in the morning, he ought to take a walk, then take some food; if the vomiting comes after dinner, the next meal should be light—stale bread, tart and unmixed wine, roasted meat, and all foods of the driest type<sup>28</sup>.

Things which heat the body include everything salty, bitter, fat; here belongs sharp wine too, if it is taken after food. The body is cooled by all things acid. The body is made moist by an increase in the amount of food, by much drink, and by foods which come from cold, rainy, or moist places. Dryness, on the contrary, is caused by hunger, by taking food immediately after exercise, or by food that comes from dry and hot places. The digestive organs become bound if one takes less food than usual, or takes in one meal a day the amount which is usually eaten in two meals, and if one drinks little. Relaxation of these organs may be produced by an increase in the amount of food and drink, and by drinking at meals<sup>29</sup>.

A few directions refer to persons of different ages and to suitable diet for the different seasons<sup>30</sup>. Hunger is most readily endured by persons in middle life, less easily by the young, and least of all by boys and old men<sup>31</sup>. One who does not stand hunger readily should take food more often; this applies especially to one who is growing. Rather weak wine should be used by boys, and nearly pure wine by old men; neither class should have wine if it causes inflation.

In winter it is better to eat more, to take wine in less quantity (the wine, however, should be less diluted), to use more bread, boiled meat, and a moderate amount of vegetables. Food should be taken but once a day, unless the bowels are bound. If one takes breakfast, it is more beneficial to eat a small amount, and to eat that amount dry without meat and without drink. In winter, too, it is better to use all things warm, or to use things which produce heat. In spring the amount of food ought to be lessened; the amount of drink ought to be increased, but the drink should be more diluted. One should take more vegetables and more meat, but should change from boiled to roasted articles. In summer the body needs food and drink more often; so it is advisable to take dinner in summer. Best at this time are meat and vegetables, a drink quite diluted, that it may relieve thirst and not heat the body, roast meat, cold foods, or foods which are cooling. Since food must be taken more frequently, it should be taken sparingly. During the autumn there is the greatest danger on account of changing weather. One

<sup>22</sup>1.3.10, 21, 23, 24. <sup>29</sup>1.3.27-31.

<sup>23</sup>1.2.8-10. In Hippocrates, Aphorisms 2.16 it is stated that, when a condition of hunger exists, one should not work.

<sup>24</sup>Hippocrates, Aphorisms 1.17.

<sup>25</sup>For the statements in this paragraph see 1.3.2-4, 6-8, 10.

<sup>26</sup>1.3.11-12. <sup>27</sup>1.3.13-14. <sup>28</sup>1.3.15-16.

<sup>30</sup>Hippocrates, Aphorisms 1.18. The sick take food less easily in summer and autumn than in winter and spring (Hippocrates, Aphorisms 3.3).

<sup>31</sup>Hippocrates, Aphorisms 1.13, states that old persons endure hunger most easily; next in power to endure hunger come adults; last of all come young persons. Celsus's statement is an apparent contradiction of this aphorism.

may now use a fuller diet; he may drink less, but stronger, wine. Some think that fruit is harmful if it is eaten freely throughout the day while nothing is omitted from the regular food. Under such circumstances, however, the harm is done not by the fruit itself, but by the total quantity of food that is consumed. Fruit should not be used oftener than other kinds of food; therefore, one should lessen the stronger food, if he wishes to add more fruit<sup>22</sup>.

The author now turns to a discussion—somewhat superficial—of weakness in special parts of the body. First he treats weakness of the head. A person with a weak head should use a moderate amount of food which digests easily. If his head aches from hunger, he should eat even at mid-day; if his head does not ache, one meal a day is better. Such a person should drink diluted wine rather than water, in order that, if his head grows worse, he may have something left to which to turn (i. e. he may turn from the diluted wine to the water). It is not advisable for him to drink exclusively either water or wine, as each is a medicine when they are used in turn. One should not read, write, or use his voice after supper; indeed, after supper not even thinking is safe for a man<sup>23</sup>.

When the bowels are too active, a man should not use a great variety of foods; he should by no means use meat broth, leguminous vegetables, potherbs, or things which digest slowly. Game, hard fish, and roasted meat of domestic animals are in such cases especially beneficial. It is never helpful to drink salt wine. Indeed, it is not helpful even to drink weak wine or sweet wine; one should rather drink a sharp, strong, and not very old wine. If one wishes to use honey-wine, it must be made with boiled honey. If cold drinks do not upset the bowels, one should use these most of all<sup>24</sup>. If anything taken at supper has upset a man, he ought to vomit, and repeat the vomiting on the following day. On the third day he should eat a small quantity of bread dipped in wine, and eggs with oil, honey-wine, or similar substances; he should then return to his regular diet<sup>25</sup>.

If there is a pain in the colon, the cause of the pain is usually nothing more than inflation; hence one must see to it that digestion takes place. The patient must take food and hot drinks, and avoid all sweet things, vegetables, and whatever causes inflation<sup>26</sup>.

If one suffers from stomach trouble, he should, when he is hungry, drink not water, but warm wine; he should take food twice a day, but only food which will be easily digested; he should use thin and sharp wine; if the wine is taken after food, it should be rather cold. Those who digest their food slowly and whose stomach is, therefore, inflated, and those who on account of heat get thirsty at night should before they try to sleep drink two or three *cyathi* of wine through a small pipe. One whose food sours ought to drink cool water and vomit before he eats<sup>27</sup>.

Celsus has a few chapters which give various classifications of foods and drinks. Nutriment from food is to

be considered not only a protection against diseases, but also a protection of our health; therefore it is necessary to know the properties of all foods, in order that the healthy may know how to use them and that the proper kinds may be given to the sick. We can divide Celsus's discussion into fourteen heads: (1) A general classification (2.18.2-3); (2) Differences in foods of the same class (2.18.4-7); (3) Differences in foods themselves (2.18.8-10); (4) Drinks (2.18.11-13); (5) Food containing good juices and foods containing harmful juices (2.20-21); (6) Mild and acrid foods (2.22); (7) Foods which create thick and fluid phlegm (2.23); (8) Foods good and foods bad for the stomach (2.24-25); (9) Foods which occasion flatulency (2.26); (10) Foods which heat or cool (2.27); (11) Foods which do or do not easily become corrupt (i. e. spoil) in the stomach (2.28); (12) Foods which open or bind the bowels (2.29-30); (13) Diuretic meats and drinks (2.31); (14) Soporiferous or exciting foods (2.32).

All ancient writers on food follow a three-fold division of foods into 'strong', 'middle', and 'weak' foods. According to Celsus (2.18.1), this classification makes it possible to refer to foods by class and thus to avoid the necessity of mentioning in every instance a particular food.

I give now the substance of Celsus's treatment of the fourteen heads.

(1) One ought to know that all leguminous vegetables and all breadstuffs made of grain are among the 'strongest' kinds of food (2.18.2). Celsus tells us that his word *valentissimum*, 'strongest', when applied to foods, means 'most nutritive'. In this class, too, are all tame quadrupeds; every large wild animal, e. g. the wild goat, deer, boar, ass; every large bird, e. g. the goose, peacock, and crane; all marine animals, e. g. the *cetus*<sup>28</sup>, and fish like the *cetus*. Honey and cheese are included here. A kind of bread called *opus pistorium*<sup>29</sup>, made of grain, fat, honey, and cheese, was considered very nourishing.

In the 'middle' class of foods Celsus (2.18.3) includes the potherbs whose roots or bulbs we eat; of the quadrupeds, the hare; all birds, from the smallest to the flamingo; and all fish which do not stand salting, and all fish that are salted whole.

Among foods of the 'weakest' class (2.18.3) are all stems of potherbs and whatever grows on a stem, as the gourd<sup>30</sup>, cucumber, caper; all fruits; olives; snails<sup>31</sup>; and oysters<sup>32</sup>.

(2) Although the articles of food are thus differentiated into classes, there are, however, great differences among foods in the same class, since in a given class one thing is more nourishing, another is less nourishing (2.18.4).

There is, indeed, more nourishment in bread than in any other thing<sup>33</sup>. Wheat (*triticum*)<sup>34</sup> is more nourish-

<sup>22</sup>Pliny, N. H. 32.10. <sup>23</sup>Pliny, N. H. 18.105.

<sup>24</sup>Athenaeus 2.58 f-59 c; Pliny, H. H. 19.71-73; Paulus Aegineta 1.80. <sup>25</sup>Athenaeus 2.63 a-d.

<sup>26</sup>2.18.2-3. For shell fish see Athenaeus 3.85 c-94 b.

<sup>27</sup>Pliny, N. H. 22.138-139: . . . Vetus aut nauticus panis tusus atque iterum coctus sistit alvum. Vocis studiosis et contra distillationes siccae esse primo cibo utilissimum est.

<sup>28</sup>*Triticum* seems to be a generic term for 'wheat'; see Pliny, N. H. 18.63. Pliny knows no wheat better for its lightness and weight than that grown in Italy.

<sup>29</sup>1.3.32-39. <sup>30</sup>1.4.4-5. <sup>31</sup>Pliny, N. H. 28.55 Notandum nullum animal aliud <i. e. no animal other than man> calidos potus sequi, ideoque non esse naturales. <sup>32</sup>1.6. <sup>33</sup>1.7. <sup>34</sup>1.8.1-4.

ing than millet<sup>45</sup>, millet than barley<sup>46</sup>. Of wheat *siligo*<sup>47</sup> is the most strengthening; next in point of strengthening power come *simila*<sup>48</sup>, then that flour from which nothing has been removed, which the Greeks call *autopyron*<sup>49</sup>. Weaker than these is bread made of *pollen*<sup>50</sup> (a fine flour). Weakest of all is *cibarius panis*<sup>51</sup> (bran bread).

Of the leguminous vegetables beans<sup>52</sup> or lentils<sup>53</sup> have more nourishment than the pea<sup>54</sup>. Of the potherbs the turnip<sup>55</sup> (*rapum*, *napus*) and all bulbs<sup>56</sup>, among which Celsus includes the onion<sup>57</sup> and garlic<sup>58</sup>, are stronger than parsnip<sup>59</sup>, or the kind of food which is called *radicula*<sup>60</sup> (small radish). In the same way cabbage<sup>61</sup>, beets<sup>62</sup>, and leek<sup>63</sup> are weaker than lettuce<sup>64</sup>, gourds<sup>65</sup>, or asparagus<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>45</sup>Pliny, N. H. 18.100, says of millet: fit et panis praedulcis.

<sup>46</sup>For kinds and uses of barley see Pliny, N. H. 18.78-80. For medicinal uses see Pliny, N. H. 22.134-135. In Pliny N. H. 18.71 we read: *Hordeum Indis sativum et silvestre, ex quo panis apud eos praecipuus est alica*.

<sup>47</sup>Pliny, N. H. 18.85-93. According to Pliny, the bakers considered this the grain of the finest quality.

<sup>48</sup>*Simila* or *similago*. See Martial 13.10; Pliny, N. H. 18.89.

<sup>49</sup>Pliny, N. H. 22.138; Petronius 66.2 *Habuiamus... panem autopyrum de suo sibi, quem ego malo quam candidum*. The reference is to a kind of whole wheat bread.

<sup>50</sup>Pliny, N. H. 18.87.

<sup>51</sup>See Isidorus, Origines 20.2.15 *Panis cibarius est, qui cibum servit datur, nec delicatus*.

<sup>52</sup>Pliny, N. H. 18.117 *Sequitur leguminum natura, inter quae maxime honos fabae, quippe ex qua temptatus sit etiam panis*. Pliny (N. H. 18.131-132) writes of beans which grow in various countries. Compare also Pliny, N. H. 18.118 *Quin et prisco ritu puls fabata suae religionis dis in sacro est*. *Praevalens pulmentari cibo, nec hebetare sensus existimata, insomnia quoque facere, ob haec Pythagoricae sententiae damnata, ut alii tradidere, quoniam mortuorum animae sint in ea, qua de causa parentando utique adsumitur*.

In many passages reference is made to the bean in connection with Pythagorean philosophy: Pliny, N. H. 18.118-119; Gellius 10.15.12, 4.11.4; Festus 77 (Lindsay); Cicero, De Divinatione 1.62, 2.119; Servius on Vergil, Georgics 3.76; Cato, De Agricultura 35.1; Varro, De Re Rustica, 1.44.1; Columella 2.10.5.

<sup>53</sup>Pliny, N. H. 18.123 *Invenio apud auctores aequanimitatem fieri vescentibus ea <vescentibus ea> = "by a diet of lentils"*. Compare Martial 13.9 *Accipe Niliacum, Pelusiam munera, lentem: vilior est alica, carior illa faba*; Vergil, Georgics 1.228.

<sup>54</sup>Pliny, N. H. 18.123.

<sup>55</sup>For *rapum* and *rape* see Pliny, N. H. 18.125-230. Pliny there describes the varieties and qualities of turnips, and mentions the places in which they grow.

<sup>56</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.93-97; Athenaeus 2.63 d-64 f; Martial 3.77-5.13.20.

<sup>57</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.101-107. In § 101 Pliny says: *Alium cepaeque inter deos in iureiurando habet Aegyptus*. Compare also Gellius 20.8.7; Juvenal 15.9 (with Mayor's note).

<sup>58</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.111 *Alium ad multa ruris praecipue medicamenta prodese creditur*.

<sup>59</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.88-89. In § 89 we read: *Annicula <parsnip> utilis esse incipit, bima utilis, gratior autumno patinisque maxime, et sic quoque virus intutabile illi est*.

<sup>60</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.48; Athenaeus 2.56 e-57 b.

<sup>61</sup>Pliny, N. H. 20.79. Pliny states that the physician Chrysippus wrote a whole volume on the subject of cabbage. Pliny declares that the Greeks divided cabbage (*brassica*) into three kinds—*crispa*, *helia*, *crambe*. Cato's medical penchant for cabbage is related by Pliny (§ 80). See Cato, De Agricultura 156-157, *passim*. Compare also Pliny, N. H. 19.136-144; Martial 13.17 *Ne tibi pallentes moveant fastidia caules, nitrata viridis brassica fiat aqua*.

<sup>62</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.132-135. In §§ 133-135 we read: *Medici nocentiorum <betam> quam olus esse iudicare <i. e. have decided that the beet is more harmful than cabbage>, quamobrem adpositas non nemini degustare etiam religio est, ut validis potius in cibo sint... Mira differentia, si vera est, candidis alvum elici, nigris inhiberi... See also Pliny, N. H. 20.69-71; Martial 13.13 *ut sapient fatuae, fabrorum prandia, betae, o quam saepe petet vina piperque cocus!**

<sup>63</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.108-110: *Et de porro in hac cognatione dici conveniat, praesertim cum sectivo auctoritatem nuper fecerit princeps Nero vocis gratia ex oleo statis mensum omnium diebus nihiloque aliud ac ne pane quidem vescendo*; Martial 13.19.

<sup>64</sup>Columella 11.3.26, 10.182-188; Pliny, N. H. 19.125-128 (compare especially § 127: *Est <lactuca> quidem natura omnibus refrigeratrix et ideo aestate gratia*. *Stomach fastidium auferunt cibique appetentiam faciunt*; Hippocrates, De Dieta 2.686; Athenaeus 2.68 f-70 a; Martial 13.14 *Claudere quae cenas lactuca solebat avorum, dic mihi, cur nostras inchoat illa dapes?*

<sup>65</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.69-74. In § 71 Pliny writes thus: *Cucurbitarum numerosior usus. Et primus caulis in cibo, atque ex eo in totum natura diversa... Cortex viridi tener deraditur nihilominus in cibis. Cibus saluber ac lenis pluribus modis, ex his tamen, qui*

Of the fruits of small trees grapes<sup>67</sup>, figs<sup>68</sup>, nuts<sup>69</sup>, dates<sup>70</sup> are stronger (= more strengthening) than the fruits which are properly called apples. Of apples the juicy are stronger than the mealy.

In the middle class of foods the more nourishing are the fowls which move by foot rather than by wing. Of those which fly the larger are more nourishing than the smaller (e. g. the fig-pecker<sup>71</sup> and the field-fare<sup>72</sup>). Fowls that live in the water have more digestible meat than those which have no ability to swim.

Of foods derived from the domestic quadrupeds pork<sup>73</sup> is the lightest, beef the most indigestible (*gravissima*). Of wild beasts the larger the animal is, the stronger is its meat.

Of the fish of the middle class—fish of this class we use most frequently—most indigestible are fish of which *salsamenta* (pickled fish) can be made, e. g. the *lacertus*<sup>74</sup>. Next in order of indigestibility come those which, though they are somewhat tender, are nevertheless hard—e. g. the gilt bream<sup>75</sup>, *corvus* (sea-fish), *sparus* (gilt-head), *oculata* (lamprey), and flatfish. Next come the *lupus*<sup>76</sup> (pike) and *mullus*<sup>77</sup> (red mullet), and, finally, all fish which frequent the rocks<sup>78</sup>.

(3) There is a difference not only in the classes of edibles, but also in the foods themselves. This is the result of their age, the part of the body <of an animal from which the food comes>, the soil, the climate, and the condition in which they are.

A four-footed animal, if it is a suckling, affords little nourishment. The barnyard fowl (*pullus cohortalis*), if specially tender, yields little nourishment. This is true of fish of middle age, which have not attained their greatest size. Next, the feet, snout, the ears, and the brains of hogs<sup>79</sup>, the whole head together with the feet of a lamb or a kid are somewhat lighter than the other parts; hence they may be placed in the middle class of foods. The necks and the wings of birds are rightly

perfici humano ventre non queant, sed non intumescant. See also Columella 11.3.40.

<sup>67</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.145-151; Juvenal 11.69 (see Mayor's note); Athenaeus 2.62 e-63 a; Martial 13.21 *Mollis in aequorea quae crevit spina Ravenna non erit incultis gratior asparagis*.

<sup>68</sup>Pliny devotes an entire book (14) to the cultivation of the vine and to various kinds of wines. Interesting is this statement in § 58 about wine: *... iure dici possit neque viribus corporis utilis aliud neque voluptatibus perniciosius, si modus absit*. See also Pliny, N. H. 23.21-53.

<sup>69</sup>Pliny, N. H. 15.68-83. In § 82 Pliny declares that in Asia and in sections of Africa figs panis... simul et opsonii vicem siccatae implent, utpote cum Cato cibaria ruris operariis iusta ceu lege sanciens minui iubet per fici maturitatem. Cum recenti fico salis vice caseo vesci nuper excogitatum est. See also Athenaeus 3.74 d-80 e.

<sup>70</sup>Pliny, N. H. 15.86-95.

<sup>71</sup>Pliny, N. H. 23.97-99. In § 97 Pliny declares that dates

Inebriant recentes, capitis dolorem adferunt minus siccae, nec, quantum videtur, utiles stomacho. Tussim exasperant, corpus alunt.

<sup>72</sup>For the *ficedula* see Gellius 13.8.2... qui negant ullam avem praeter ficedulam totam comesse oportere; Pliny, N. H. 10.86.

This bird changes its shape and color. See Martial 13.5 *Cerea quae patulo lucet ficedula lumbo, cum tibi forte datur, si sapis, adde piper*.

<sup>73</sup>Martial 13.92 *Inter aves turdus, si quid me iudice certum est, inter quadrupedes mattea prima lepus*.

<sup>74</sup>Pliny, N. H. 8.205-209. In § 209 we read of the pig: *Neque alio ex animalibus numerosior materia ganeae; quinquaginta prope saporibus, cum ceteris singuli. Hinc censoriarum legum paginae interdictione cenis abdomina, glandia, testiculi, vulvae, sincipita verrina...*

<sup>75</sup>Martial 11.27.3, 12.19, 10.48.11.

<sup>76</sup>In Festus 197 (Lindsay) we find this note: *Orata <i> genus piscis a colore auri dicta, quod rustici orum dicebant, ut auriculas oriculas. Compare Martial 13.90 Non omnis laudes pretiumque aurata meretur, sed cui solus erit concha Lucrina cibis*.

<sup>77</sup>Pliny, N. H. 9.61; Martial 13.89 *Laneus Euganei lupus excipit ora Timavi, aequoreo dulces cum sale pastus aquas*.

<sup>78</sup>Pliny, N. H. 96.4-66.

<sup>79</sup>Athenaeus 3.95 a-97.



regarded as less nourishing. Grain that is grown on hilly ground is more nourishing than grain that is grown in the plain; fish caught among the rocks are lighter than those caught in sand; fish caught in sand are lighter than fish caught in mud. Thus it happens that fish of the same species caught from pool, lake, or river are heavier, and those which live in deep water are lighter, than those which live in shallows. Every wild animal is lighter than the domestic; what is born in a moist climate is lighter than what is born in a dry climate. Then, too, all fat foods furnish more nourishment than lean foods, fresh foods more than salted foods, new foods more than stale foods. The same article is more nourishing in its own juice than when it is roasted; it is more nourishing when it is roasted than when it is boiled. A hard egg<sup>80</sup> belongs to the strongest class of foods, a soft or sorbile egg to the weakest. All baked stuffs are very strong; however, certain kinds of washed grain, as *halica*<sup>81</sup> (spelt), rice<sup>82</sup>, *plisana* (pearl barley), or broth and gruel made of these, and bread moistened in water may be counted as the weakest<sup>83</sup>.

(4) Of the drinks whatever is made from grain belongs to the strongest class; so, too, do milk<sup>84</sup>, *mulsum*, *defrutum*<sup>85</sup> (must boiled down), *passum* (raisin-wine), sweet and strong wine, *mustum*<sup>86</sup> (must), or wine of great age. But vinegar<sup>87</sup> and wine only a few years old, whether the wine is tart (*austerum*) or rich (*pingue*), belong to the middle class of foods; hence neither kind should be given to the weak.

Water<sup>88</sup> is the weakest of all drinks. Drink made of grain is stronger, according to the strength of the grain. Drink made from wine that comes from good soil is stronger than drink made from wine that comes from weak soil, and wine that comes from a temperate climate is stronger than wine that comes from moist soil, or too dry soil. Least nourishing of all wines is wine from cold or warm climates. Mulse gains much in strength according to the quantity of the honey it contains (2.18.12); must boiled down is stronger the more it is boiled; raisin-wine is stronger the drier the grapes. Rain water (soft water) is the lightest; next in heaviness come spring water, river water, well water, snow, and ice-water<sup>89</sup>. Water from a lake is heavier than the kinds of water just mentioned; heaviest is water from a swamp. It is easy to make a

test of water, for the lightness can be determined by weighing it. Of waters which are equal in weight the better are water which heats and cools more quickly<sup>90</sup>, and water in which vegetables cook most quickly.

It usually follows that, the stronger a substance is, the less easily it is digested, but, if it is digested, the more it nourishes the body. Therefore, one must use the class of food adapted to one's strength; the quantity taken must be according to the class. For this reason men of weak constitution should take foods of the weakest class; the middle class of foods nourishes best those who are moderately strong; the strongest foods are best suited to the robust. Finally, a person may take more of the lighter class, but he ought to be more moderate in his use of the strongest foods<sup>91</sup>.

(5) Good juices can be had from wheat (*tritium*), winter wheat (*siligo*), spelt (*salica*), rice (*oryza*), starch (*amulum*)<sup>92</sup>, porridge (*tragum*)<sup>93</sup>, pearl-barley (*plisana*)<sup>94</sup>, milk, soft cheese<sup>95</sup>, all game, all birds which are of the middle class and of the larger type, medium fish, (i. e. fish between the tender and the hard, such as the mullet and the pike), spring lettuce, nettles<sup>96</sup>, mallows<sup>97</sup>, gourds, sorbile egg, purslane, snails, dates, apples<sup>98</sup> which are neither bitter nor acid, sweet or light wine, raisin-wine (*passum*), must boiled down (*defrutum*), olives which are preserved in *passum* or in *defrutum*, the matrix<sup>99</sup>, the snout, and the feet of the sow, all fat glutinous meats, and all livers<sup>97</sup>.

The foods that contain bad juices are millet (*milium*), baked bread (*panicum*), barley, vegetables; very lean meat of the domestic animals; all salt meat, pickled fish<sup>99</sup>, fish-sauce<sup>99</sup> (*garum*); old cheese; the skirret (*siser*), small radish, turnip, navew, bulbs; cabbage, and, more especially, its young sprouts<sup>100</sup> (*cyma*), asparagus, beets, cucumber; leek (*porrus*), cole-wort (*eruca*)<sup>101</sup>, cress (*nasturcium*)<sup>102</sup>, thyme, Italian catnip<sup>103</sup> (*nepeta*), savory, hyssop, rue, dill (*anetum*)<sup>104</sup>, fennel, cumin (*cuminum*)<sup>105</sup>, anise, sorrel (*lapatium*)<sup>106</sup>, mustard (*sinapi*)<sup>107</sup>, garlic (*alium*), and onions (*cepe*); spleen, kidneys, intestines; acid or bitter fruit; vinegar,

<sup>80</sup>Athenaeus 2.57 d-58 a.

<sup>81</sup>Pliny, N. H. 18.109-116.

In § 109 Pliny says: Sed inter prima dicatur et alicae ratio praestantissimae saluberrimaeque, quae palma frugum indubitata Italiae contingit.

<sup>82</sup>Pliny, N. H. 18.71.

<sup>83</sup>2.18.8-10.

<sup>84</sup>Pliny, N. H. 11.236-239. Among other remarks Pliny says that milk of a woman before her seventh month is useless; after this month it is wholesome, provided the foetus is healthy. The milk of camels mixed with water, one part to three, is considered a pleasant drink. The lightest milk is that of camels, the next lightest that of mares. The milk of the she-ass is the richest. See Pliny, N. H. 28.123-130.

<sup>85</sup>Pliny, N. H. 14.80.

<sup>86</sup>Pliny, N. H. 14.120-121; 23.29-30. Mustum cmne stomacho inutile, venis iucundum. . . Capitis dolores facit, et gutturi inutile, prodest renibus, iocineri et interaneis, vesicae, conlevat enim ea.

<sup>87</sup>Pliny, N. H. 14.111, 23.54-59. In § 57 Pliny says of vinegar: Cibis quidem et saporibus non alius magis succus commendat aut excitat, in quo usu mitigatur usto pane aut cumino, aut accenditur pipere ac lasere, utique sale conespicitur.

<sup>88</sup>Pliny, N. H. 31.1-71. In § 31 he says, Quaeitur inter medicos cuius generis aquae sint utilisimae. See also Juvenal 5.49; Columella 1.5.3. On wine and water see Athenaeus 1.25 e-2.47.

<sup>89</sup>Martial 14.117 Non potare nivem, sed aquam potare rigentem de nive commenta est ingeniosa sitis. Here *rigentem* is the reading of the Delphin Edition. Heraeus, in the Teubner text, and Lindsay, in the Oxford Classical Text Series, read *recentem*.

<sup>90</sup>Hippocrates, Aphorisms 5.26; Vitruvius 8.5.1-2.

<sup>91</sup>2.18.11-13.

<sup>92</sup>Pliny, N. H. 18.76-77 Amylum <fit> vero ex omni tritico ac siligine, sed optimum e trimestri. . . probatur autem levore et levitate atque ut recens sit. . .

<sup>93</sup>Pliny, N. H. 18.76 Simili modo e tritici semine tragum fit, in Campania dumtaxat et Aegypto. . .

<sup>94</sup>For *plisana* (*lisana*) see Martial 12.72.5; Pliny, N. H. 18.74-75.

<sup>95</sup>Pliny, N. H. 28.131-132. . . Stomacho <casei> utiles qui non sunt salsi, id est recentes. Veteres alvum sistunt corpusque minuunt, stomacho inutiliores; et in totum salsa minuunt corpus, alunt mollia. . .

<sup>96</sup>Athenaeus 2.62 d.

<sup>97</sup>Pliny, N. H. 20.222-230. See § 226: . . . Stomacho <malvas> <casei> inutilis Sextius Niger dicit. . .

<sup>98</sup>Athenaeus 3.80 e-82 e.

<sup>99</sup>Martial 13.56 Te fortasse magis capiat de virgine porca: me materna gravi de sue vulva caput.

<sup>100</sup>2.20.

<sup>101</sup>Athenaeus 2.67 c.

<sup>102</sup>Pliny, N. H. 31.93-94. In § 93 we read: Aliud etiamnum liquoris exquisiti genus, quod garum vocaverit, intestinis piscium ceterisque quae abienda essent sale maceratis, ut sit illa putrescentium sanies.

<sup>103</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.137; N. H. 20.99 Ex omnibus brassicae generibus suavisima est cyma, at inutilis habetur, difficilis in coquendo et renibus contraria.

<sup>104</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.154; Martial 3.75.3; Horace, Sermones 2.8.51.

<sup>105</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.155. . . Pliny, N. H. 14.105.

<sup>106</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.167; Vergil, Eclogues 2.48.

<sup>107</sup>Pliny, N. H. 20.159-160; Horace, Epistulae 1.19.18.

<sup>108</sup>Pliny, N. H. 20.231; Horace, Sermones 2.4.29, Epodes 2.57.

<sup>109</sup>Pliny, N. H. 20.236. Petronius 66.7.



all things acrid, acid, bitter, olive-oil<sup>108</sup>; fish which are found among rocks, and all fish which are of the tenderest kind, or which are too hard, and fish which are covered with slime (in general fish that are found in ponds, lakes, or muddy rivers), and those which have attained too great a size<sup>109</sup>.

(6) Mild articles of food are broth, gruel, cakes of flour and oil (*Jaganum*)<sup>110</sup>, starch, pearl-barley, fat and glutinous meat; the meat of nearly all domestic animals, especially pig's feet, the legs and the heads of kids, calves and lambs, and all brains; things which are properly called bulbs; milk; must boiled down; raisin-wine; pine-nuts; acrid things which are too sharp; all acids; all salty articles; honey (the more so, the better it is); garlic, onions, cole-wort, rue, cress, cucumber<sup>111</sup>, beets<sup>112</sup>, cabbage, asparagus, mustard, small radish, endive, basil, lettuce, and most of the potherbs<sup>113</sup>.

(7) The foods which cause a rather thick phlegm are sorbile eggs, spelt, rice, starch, pearl-barley, milk, bulbs, and nearly all glutinous articles. All things salt, acid, and acrid are weakening<sup>114</sup>.

(To be continued)

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## REVIEW

Life and Literature in the Roman Republic. Sather Classical Lectures, Volume Seven. By Tenney Frank. Berkeley: University of California Press (1930). Pp. vi + [ii] + 256. \$3.50.

In the volume under review, *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic*, the author, Professor Tenney Frank, declares (Preface, v), that there is among classical scholars a regrettable tendency to imagine that Latin literature was an imitative literature. Such a belief is, in my opinion, equivalent to a charge that as a nation the Romans were uncreative. Yet an uncreative nation could hardly have left such an enduring imprint on civilization. Is this misconceived notion due to the fact that no logical difference is made by those who hold this view between the terms 'indebtedness' and 'imitation'? Catullus, for example, was indebted to the Greeks, and so was Lucretius; but can they be considered imitators? Did not each surpass his models? I think in this connection of the fine characterization of Catullus by Professor Günther Jachmann, in his pamphlet, *Die Originalität der Römischen Literatur*, 23 (Teubner, Leipzig, 1926): "...Was mit dem Herzblut geschrieben ist, muss original sein—das ist selbstverständlich..." We may apply this statement to Lucretius also. He, too, 'wrote out his convictions with his "Herzblut"'.<sup>1</sup>

It is refreshing, therefore, to read this latest book by Professor Frank, since he, like Professor Jachmann, champions the originality of Roman literature. He does it, however, on a larger and more elaborate scale than Jachmann did it. Professor Frank takes at the

very outset an energetic stand against the doctrine that Roman literature is imitative: in his Preface (v) he says, "...it seemed hardly plausible that a whole nation could have conformed for centuries to such a stereotype..." Professor Frank is right<sup>1</sup>. No nation can live forever on second-hand literary fare.

The purpose of Professor Frank's lectures is stated (vi) to be "...to visualize a few of the early Roman writers in their response to the desires and demands of their own environment..." The author begs us to consider the contents of his book (vi)<sup>2</sup> "...as a collection of suggestions, partly culled from the work of others, partly hazarded by myself, that may perhaps prove useful to anyone who feels inclined to write a competent history of republican literature".

The contents of the book are as follows:

Preface (v-vi); Contents (no page number is given here); I. Introduction: Social Forces (1-29); II. Early Tragedy and Epic (30-64); III. Greek Comedy on the Roman Stage (65-98); IV. Terence and His Successors (99-129); V. The Prose of the Roman Statesmen (130-168); VI. Republican Historiography and Livy (169-196); VII. Cicero's Response to Experience (197-224); VIII. Lucretius and His Readers (225-250); Index (251-256).

In Chapter I Professor Frank studies the social forces that played the most important part in leading the Romans to express themselves in literary form. He realizes keenly that in point of self-expression it is a far cry from Greece to Rome. At the same time, however, he points out (9) that "...The Romans in fact were the only folk of the scores of neighbors of Greece that as a nation assimilated and worthily carried on the new-found culture". He points out the futility of thinking of the Romans as unimaginative (10), a statement with which I am in full agreement. We find here also some interesting remarks on the rôle of philhellenism both as a literary and as a political factor (16-19), and remarks on the effect upon literature of Cato's anti-Greek propaganda (21). It is worth while to quote Professor Frank's conclusion (29):

... But the men who entered literature were not of one class nor did they express the ideals of any one group. They came out of different strata of different localities

<Professor Frank might well have called attention to a paper in which, nearly twenty-four years ago (twenty-two years before Professor Frank's Sather lectures were delivered), I challenged the view that Latin literature lacks originality. This paper, entitled *The Originality of Latin Literature*, appeared in *The Classical Journal* 3.251-260, 299-307 (May, June, 1908). In this paper I acknowledged my indebtedness to a lecture by Frederick Leo, *Die Originalität der Römischen Literatur*, which was delivered at Göttingen, in 1904. In my paper I said (255, Note 1) that there was little new in Leo's presentation; it was, however, a convenient and excellent presentation of the subject. Thus, long before Professor Jachmann or Professor Frank thought it worth while (in 1926 and in 1930) to write so strongly in defence of the view that the Romans show their originality in literature, as, indeed, they did elsewhere, voices had been raised, both in Europe and in this country, in support of the view so close to Professor Frank's heart. Surely the matter has been discussed often—and amply—in connection with Vergil. C. K.>

<It seems to me regrettable that in Professor Frank's book there is so little documentation. This seems particularly unfortunate in view of the stress he lays, in his Preface, on the thought that he is in some way a pioneer protagonist in support of the doctrine that there is originality in Latin literature (see note 1, above). In his discussion of Roman prose style he refers to Nettleship's discussion of this subject. He might have made a reference to my paper, *A Phase in the Development of Prose Writing Among the Romans*, *Classical Philology* 13.138-154 (April, 1918). This paper deserved mention for one reason, if for no other, the fact that there are so few discussions in English of this topic.

It may be said, in general, that American scholars do not receive very generous treatment at Professor Frank's hands. C. K.>

<sup>108</sup>Athenaeus 2.56 a-e, 66 f-67 b.

<sup>109</sup>2.21. <sup>110</sup>Compare Horace, *Sermones* 1.6.115.

<sup>111</sup>Athenaeus 3.73 d-e.

<sup>112</sup>Pliny, *N. H.* 19.132 *Beta hortensiorum levissima est.*

<sup>113</sup>2.22. <sup>114</sup>2.23.

and spoke for different mores. Whatever we may say we must admit that the really personal literature of the republic was neither conformist nor monotonous, neither Greek nor classical in spirit. It was frankly experimental, but it always proves to reflect some phase of Roman life.

The chapter on tragedy and epic is successful, especially in the treatment of tragedy. The ways, means, and experiments adopted by the dramatists to make drama possible in Rome are ably set forth (33, 36, 44-47). Other problems, too, are suggestively touched upon, e. g. the Roman interest in legends of the Trojan Cycle (15, 31), the trend of Roman tragedy toward an operatic form (47-59; compare especially 49, 58), and the reasons for the decline of Roman tragedy (60-64).

The third and fourth chapters are devoted to an exposition of comedy. The author does not really discuss "Roman comedy as such..." (68); he discusses (68) "...what in Rome's life and experience made itself felt through these plays..." In the case of Plautus we may note especially the suggestive explanation of Plautus's extravagant use of Greek words in his comedies (63-73)<sup>3</sup>, and his free use of Greek mythology (73-75). The discussion of the status of actors also deserves mention (95-98).

Chapters V-VII are the best part of the book. Especially instructive and original is Chapter V, in which the attempt is made to trace the growth of Latin prose from the beginnings to Cicero, in order (132) "to suggest how that prose became adequate to clothe the varied expression of so versatile a genius..." The author draws a vivid parallel between the growth of English prose and that of Latin prose (132-135; compare 140), and proves, in my opinion, conclusively, that, before the Romans resorted to guidance from Greece, Latin prose had travelled a long way (132). Speeches were common in Rome before the study of Greek was established there. Hence Greek was not the formative factor in the development of Latin prose-style; public speech moulded that style (140), as was the case in England. The suggestion that Greek influence affected Cato's style is rejected (140). Nor was it necessary for the Romans to go to Greece to learn the secrets of periodic structure: the latter was native to the Latin tongue (156). Roman prose, concludes Professor Frank (159), "...grew to full maturity from native roots, in native soil, and with native nurture". In one point, a small one, Professor Frank is not clear. On page 131 he writes, "...when he sought out Apollonius of Rhodes as a critic..." Would it not have been better to say "at Rhodes", in order not to confuse the teacher of Cicero with the author of the *Argonautica*?

Before discussing Livy (Chapter VI), Professor Frank presents a survey of the early historical writers, divided into three groups (172-176), with reference (172) "...to their methods and their employment of their sources..." In his opinion they deserve more

consideration and respect than is usually allotted to them<sup>4</sup>, because they did not fail to avail themselves of the sources at their disposal. This holds true in particular in the case of Fabius Pictor (177, 181-183). Professor Frank maintains (180) that Republican archives were not destroyed by the Gauls, in 387 B. C., as was once commonly assumed<sup>5</sup>.

In Professor Frank, Livy has a warm defender. He does not find Livy as untrustworthy as other critics have found him (189, 195); on the contrary, he presents recent evidence which goes to prove that in many cases Livy's accounts are preferable to those of Polybius (196)<sup>6</sup>.

Cicero's contribution to Latin prose was treated in Chapter V. In Chapter VII Professor Frank returns to the topic. While he is aware of Cicero's inconsistencies, especially in party loyalty, he ably defends him against his detractors (compare 215, 198), and points out that, so far as his political theory is concerned, he attained it through experience alone (216-219); the result of this experience is an original element in his philosophy (compare 217). We find here also a brief account of Cicero's original contribution to Roman jurisprudence (222-224). The chapter as a whole is both instructive and constructive. Those who still cling to the views of Mommsen or Drumann concerning Cicero will find in it plenty of material for thought.

The last chapter, on Lucretius, seems to me the weakest part of the book. It lacks the force of its predecessors. Yet it is pleasant reading. Few, I believe, will find it possible to accept the author's suggestion that Lucretius was subject to Etruscan influence in his boyhood (235). Much more interesting is the discussion of Lucretius's philosophic Romanticism (248-249).

Professor Frank's book is both inspiring and illuminating. While not all his suggestions will win immediate acceptance, at the same time his novel approach and his championship of the originality<sup>7</sup> of Roman literature will command respect. In fine, it may be said that the scholar who, one day, shall aspire to write on this period of Roman literature will have to take Professor Frank's book into serious consideration.

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<sup>3</sup>Compare a statement by Professor Alfred Klotz, in his pamphlet, *Nationale und Internationale Strömungen in der Römischen Literatur*, 9 (Erlanger Universität-Reden, 9, Palm and Enke, Erlangen, 1931): "Man müsste sich ein falsches Bild von den römischen Geschichtsschreibern machen, wenn man annehmen wollte, dass ihre Werke im unbeholfenen Stil einer Chronik geschrieben wären. Dann hätten sie bei den Griechen kaum Beachtung gefunden..."

<sup>4</sup>On this matter see my summary, in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 15.103 (January 23, 1928), of an article entitled *The Gallic Fire and Roman Archives*, by Lucy George Roberts, which was published in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 3, 55-65. Miss Roberts believed that "probably almost all of the international documents deposited on the Capitoline and in the other temples, escaped destruction..." C. K.

<sup>5</sup>For a very vivid and very sensible championing of Livy see Morris H. Morgan, *Addresses and Essays*, 14-16 (American Book Company, 1910). For my notice of this volume see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 4.41-42. C. K.

<sup>7</sup>It will not be amiss to quote another comparison with Professor Jachmann's views. On page 28 Professor Frank says: "The Roman lyric of the Republic also rejects classification... Lucretius again refuses to fall into a conventional pattern..." With this compare Jachmann, 42: "Die Originalität der römischen Literatur lässt sich auf keine Formel bringen, sie lässt sich auch nicht in einen allumfassenden Begriff einschliessen..."

<sup>8</sup>On page 72 Professor Frank speaks of Plautus's linguistic abilities. Compare with this the statement of Professor Jachmann (16, 18): "...Plautus ist ein Meister der Sprache, wie das Altertum keinen grösseren gesehen hat... Diese Diktion nun ist... nicht mehr nur Kleid, sondern Leib der Aktion, der Vorgänge, sie führt und trägt in ihrem Flusse Tun, Haltung und Gebahrung der Gestalten mit sich..."

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